RED & BLACK

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Note - New Address!

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EAST TIMOR

The world moves forwards but neither in unison with socialist perspectives, nor in accordance with dialectical materialism, nor even with precepts outlined by scientific socialism. The dialectical view of progressive stages of historical development is bankrupt. Socialist realism has mutated into the most reactionary forms of nationalism and religion and, finally, has been absorbed by its mentor, capitalism. Thus a fertile terrain of vast opportunity for capitalist expansion assertion and aggression has been opened. Capitalism, in its multi-national stage, has entered the world arena invigorated dynamic and unfettered. Its praxis: press the button "civilization", not only to make profit but also to destroy is triumhant. One button pushed and entire cities are incinerated, whole areas of land transformed into desert and lives into ashes. Its power creates awe and intimidation in the hearts of millions and, being an excellent weapon of terrorism, it keeps whole nations and people in subjugation and poverty. Uninhibited, since there is no power to oppose it, capitalism rapes nature, pollutes water, air and soil and creates ecological, social and economic disasters. And this seems to appear as a natural phenomenon since social inequalities are permanent features of present day social organization. It follows then that the tears, sweat and misery of some is the landscape of the happiness, profit and wellbeing of others.

Certainly within the capitalist camp there are contradictions. It was not an accident that the U.S.A. was insisting in declaring war on Irak. It was not the sovereignty of Quwait, not the loftier ideal of human rights nor any worries about human tragedies that moved the heart of Bush and his administration to orchestrate and interfere in the conflict. It was rather an act to assert control over the sources of energy; to bring into line those who opposed the U.S.A.' demands on oil prices. In addition it was a desire to display the American military supremacy and the striking power of its weapons; a warning to those who dare to challange or undermine the American interests. It was a show of power.

Within this logic of power, the state plays a dominant role. It is itself the mechanism through which power functions, society is militarized, consensus or rules and regulations are established, national aspirations and national interests defined and people coerced into subjugation and acceptance of the rules designed by capitalists. Interna-

tionally the hierarchisation of the states follows similar logic. Since power tends to centralize it is the big states that swallow, engulf and dominate the smaller ones. Inasmuch as the State is an instrument of capitalism and since the latter is already trans-national, the centralization of the states into one big state is, therefore, a futuristic feature of capitalism. But after the collapse of the Soviet Union the idea approaches its realization. The U.S.A.,by virtue of its own strength, had been and now increases to be a centralizing factor. It is the unchallenged world gendarme.States that try to deviate from the rules tentatively established by the U.S.A. are forced into submission by various means: from coup d'etat to military intervention. Thus those which try to be independent to some extent, try to defy or alter capitalism and escape being vassals of U.S.A. policy, have to be prepared to suffer the consequences.

East Timor is a victim of this logic. When Portugal went through a period of decolonization and left a power vacuum, this vacuum, after short internal skirmishes, was filled by Fretilin. But it did not last for long. Suharto, the prodigal son of the U.S.A, could not tolerate a small neighbouring state, economically rich and with a government with leftist tendencies neither could the U.S.A.. And when Fretilin proclaimed East Timor an independent state in November, Indonesia used it as a pretext to act. On 7th December 1975, its troops officially invaded the country. This act of aggression was condemned world-wide. On December 22nd the U.N. passed a resolution condemning Indonesia and demanding the withdrawal of its troops from the territory of East Timor. This resolution (384/1975) emphasized that "the territorial integrity and the inalienable self-determination of East Timor" are to be respected.

The situation was analogous to that of the Iraki's invasion of Quwait but the similarity stopped there. In relation to Quwait the U.N., under American pressure, took an active part and supported the move to war against Irak. As far as East Timor was concerned the U.N. resoluion fell on deaf ears. Much noise was made but no positive action followed. This was due to the fact that Fretilin took a line independent from the U.S.A. and, therefore, did not fit the latter's global strategy. For America it was preferable to have a fascist dictatorship than an independent East Timor. After all Suharto was their Lackey. Was it not the U.S.A. that engendered, supported and helped the coup d'etat in 1965 which put Suhartoin power? Was it not a policy of the U.S.A. to oppose and crush any movement that smelt of leftism or was geared to independence from America? It was not incidental that a few hours after the invasion of East Timor, Henry Kissinger and Gerald Ford were in

the Indonesian capital, Jakarta trying to minimize the issue of East Timor. Not only that but the U.S.A. took a course to sabotage all U.N. initiatives. According to the American representative at the time to the U.N., Daniel Patrick Maynihan "The U.S.A. hoped that the things in East Timor would turn out as they did and it worked to achieve this objective. The State Department hoped that the U.N. would remain inefficient in all attempts it was to undertake." (Le Monde Libertaire)

Australia, a staunch supporter of America, played the shameful role of carrying out American policy. In February 1976 the U.N. attempted to send a delegation to East Timor but Australia blocked it. When Indonesia officially annexed East Timor in July 1976 and declared it as its 27th province. Australia was the first country to nail the coffin and thus bury all hopes of East Timor for independence. Certainly Senator Evans, to wash his guilt like Pontius Pilate, talks of "unfortunate circumstances" and "possible inegalities" surrounding Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor but this political moralism has not prevented Canberra from recognising "not only de facto but also de jure" Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.(Senate Daily Hansard 1 Nov. 1989) Human rights, self-determination, independence are key words in capitalist humanism but they exist in the realm of the discourse only and in reality are empty and lack significance. After all, de facto and de jure, petrol is more important than humans

Already in 1972 negotiations were held between Australia and Portugal to exploit the petrol resources in East Timor. However, six months before the invasion the Australian Ambassador in Jakarta, reminded the Department of Minerals in Canberra to pay close attention to the political development in East Timor. At the same time his advice was that it was preferable to deal with Indonesia rather than Portugal or, for that matter, with an independent East Timor. He advanced a pragmatical approach to a political solution. For Australia to do business with Indonesia was "a pragmatical point of view rather than a position of principles but this was an issue of national interest and international policy"(Le M. L.) Pragmatism, the central force of capitalism, can accommodate humans only as commodities

On this pragmatical ground Australia and Indonesia began negotiating coastal line demarcations in October 1976. The fact that Indonesia was involved in a policy of genocide, assimilation and was hunting subversives did not deter Australia from reaching an agreement on petrol exploitation. After all "independence", unless it serves our purposes, is a small pox to capitalism and ought to be prevented from spreading. As far as human righs go it

is the lipstick that beautifies the lips that hide the capitalists capital accumulatiing sensuality.

Dili's massacre was an ephemeral irritant to the consciousness of some politicians. They like to entomb their evil actions in the archives of history and hate to be reminded of them.The guiltier they were the more vitriolic they appeared to be, the more outraged and indignant they became about the cruelty and repression. They forgot they had condoned such acts. To atone their guilt they evoked the, dear to their lips, "human rights" but made sure that business functioned as usual.

Senator Evans showed off by threatening Indonesia that "Australia's long standing recognition of Indonesian rule over East Timor might be reconsidered as a result"(The Sydney Morning Herald), because Indonesia committed the "horrifying act" of massacring people. Somehow his consciousness was not disturbed by the very act of the original annexation which crucified the hopes of the people for freedom and buried their longings for independence and sacrificed a quarter of the population to the Moloch of Indonesian empirialism: to him that was not a "horrifying act. Perhaps the speck is more important than the dust storm which is wiping out the East Timorese. The knight of the sorrowful countenance thunders like a Goliath of international policy while, in fact, he is but a dwarf of insignificant proportion. Nonetheless barking is part of the repertory of politicians, signification of one's insignificance that enhances their image in the eyes of true believers, diverts attention from real issues and, at the same time, smooths the metamorphosis, in this case, of the East Timorese into Indonesians. Crocodile tears in the real valley of suffering and tragedy. It is an insult!

To Indonesia "Australia was playing a game" as the Indonesian Defence Minister, Mr Benny Murdoni put it. To the real-politik of a militarized societty any consideration for human life is a masochistic fancy. In such a society either one serves and obeys or one dies. The massacre in Dili was not an exception, it was the rule. As the Army Commander, Brigadier Sintorg Panjaitav succinctly put it: "The authorities will never be in any doubt about taking tough action against any abuse of our persuasive approach. The only order is to kill or to be killed" (S.M.H.15/11/1991). True, the only order is the order of organized violence, the government. It was the government that did the killing. Since only the government has the weapons, bullets and bombs, the military machine and the power to terrorise, to hunt and to shoot so it is the only killer. It kills people because they want to be free and independent.

To save face the U.S.A. protested too. Since the New World Order was proclaimed "Human Rights" has become the red-herring used to rationalize U.S.A. imperialist expansion. It worked in Quwait. But East Timor is not Quwait. Here the American interests are not threatened. On the contrary, they are enhanced by the Indonesian occupation which is within the orbit of the New World Order. Therefore, human righs were reduced to verbal diarrhoea. The U.S.A is not interested in imposing an economic embargo on Indonesia as it did to Irak and continues to do. It is even less interested in sending its army to restore East Timorese sovereignty. On the contrary , Bush captured the opportunity to ask for military contributions to Indonesia."We think that a continued and well-focused military assistance program for Indonesia can contribute to the professionalization of the Indonesian military, and these kind of programs expose the trainees to democratic ideas and humanitarian standards." (The Weekend Australian,16-17,Nov,1991)

What a nonsense! Military education democratises the military? The U.S.A., by some unexplained logic, considers its militarism as being democratic and its military arsenal with its sinister destructiveness, as being humanitarian or serving humanitarian purposes. It could be possible since its bombs are intelligent. Nonetheless, to suggest that "professionalization" of the army contributes to its democratisation is sophistry. Professionalisation of the military implies perfecting the efficiency with which it deals with counter-insurgency, internal disturbances and subversives. The military professional is a body that ensures that social relationships remain subservient to the government of the day and beneficial to capitalist corporations. Latin America is an example how the U.S.A. military aid works. Coup after coup has replaced one tyranny with another, one dictator with another but in no way have they touched the appalling conditions in which the people are living. For Bush and his cohorts the trigger of the gun serves democracy, naturally their democracy. The democracy of the New World Order where capitalism is the only plausible system. Soon after the Dili massacre petrol companies signed an agreement to exploit the petrol in East Timor.

To evoke human rights for the East Timorese is to make their yoke tolerable. It is a medicinal oil to lubricate the instruments of their oppression and thus confuse chains with freedom. It sweetens the bitter pill of slavery with a democratic farce. Dili's massacre, the massacre of the innocent, was the only way for Indonesia to establish its hold over East Timor and to ensure the complete subjugation of its people. The blood of the victims was a sacrificial gesture to the altar of multi-nationals, the petrol companies and the assertion of the New World Order where people are exploited, codified, merchandised and commodified.

The State of Right: the law of the jungle

Lately much is said about international right and the state of right. Many take this expression quite seriously, that is, they have not yet understood that right is rather a relation of force than an absolute state.

The Gulf War was definitely one of these revelations, in the sense that it was indicative that there are double standards. What was immediately demanded of a State which foolishly put itself on the wrong side of the right was not demanded of another State which for decades scoffed at this same right.

Irak put itself on the wrong side of the right by occupying Quwait since this occupation went against American and, following it, European imperialism. A colossal task force was dispatched to enforce the right enacted by the U.N. in the form of resolutions. Yet, in many other circumstances since the ending of the last war, resolutions, equally valid, have been voted by the same U.N. but no task force has been sent to enforce them, be it in South Africa, Timor, Tibet or...in Israel which still occupies territories belonging to three neighbouring States.

Irak was on the wrong side of the right while Israel was on the right side of it. Nonetheless the resolutions adopted by the U.N. relating to the latter had, in theory, the same value as those concerning the former.

This "state of right" of which they talk is a fiction with double meaning. First, because right itself is never applied: only force is, and then with legal fictions to justify it. Second, because there is a misunderstanding of the concept itself: of the "state of the right". There is a curious semantic shift.

The state of right, with a small "s" is an expression used in the same manner as if it were the state of nature and describes a political environment where individual relations are based not on arbitrary rules but on equally applying rules. What is of interest to us as anarchists is that such a society is by no means a statist one. We can subscribe to the idea of the state of right

A SEMANTIC SHIFT

It is significant that in the present day context, the expression "the State of right" (with a capital S) suggests that only the State is in the position to enact right (that is, no arbitrary relations). The State becomes the only source, guarantor and finality of right. It is, in fact, a real statist appropriation of a concept which, in origin did not automatically presuppose the existence of the State. The "State of right" in reality is the right of the State. In the expression "the state of right" it is the right, as a notion, that is the determinant while in the expression "the State of right" it is the State that dominates. There are no rights unless sanctioned by the State. Any challenge to a right, even the most exceptional one enacted by the State, becomes a challenge to the State itself and thus identified with terrorism. There is no longer any appeal to a right that is above the right of the State, such as natural right, human right.

Evidently here lie subtleties that our T.V. presenters fail to understand.

The international relations which, we are told, are to be subordinated to the state of right are, in fact, nothing but the expression of the right of the States, that is to say of brute force and savage interests. One only has to stand back a bit to realize that politicians are capable of the worst cynicism when speaking of right.

The Habache affair is typical. This person has nothing to recommend him to anarchists. He is the leader of one of the factions of the P.L.O which has practiced terrorism - however, he stopped practicing it 20 years ago, at least outside of the Middle East area. Given that he was violently expelled from his own land and subjected to the humiliation of exile, it is possible to understand that he became a terrorist. But those who, from the point of view of an oppressive State, are declared terrorists, can be seen from the point of view of the oppressed, as fighters. Here again the words show their importance. They are indicative of the camp one belong to.

THE HABACHE AFFAIR

Hence, for Western governments, Habache is not a fighter but a terrorist, more precisely, a former terrorist. His visit to France aroused the indignation of our good politicians who, in practice, unanimously endorse the bizarre spectacle of mass terrorism: the blockade of Irak which starves the civil population who, in no way, are responsible for the policy of their leaders. But the "state of right",

nonetheless, requires that indignation not be selective because, by definition, right is applicable to all equally.

Not long ago another terrorist, by then a Prime Minister, paid an official visit to France but this did nots raise any objections. In fact Shamir was No 2 in importance in the extreme right wing group "The Stern Gang", while Palestine was under the British mandate. This group had established connection with the German Nazi in 1940-41 to fight the English. One of the leaders of the group, Yalin-Mor, wrote a book dedicated to this movement. "Our duty was to fight the enemy (the British) and it was permissible to look for help from the enemy of our enemy". Heliezar Haleve, a known labour unionist, revealed in the weekly Hotam of Tel Aviv (19 August 1983) the existence of a document signed by Shamir (whose name at the time was Yezernitsky) and Abraham Stern and given to the German Embassy in Ancara at the moment when the extermination of the Jews had been intensified. In it it is stated: "In principle we identify with you. Why don't we collaborate with each other?". Haartez (31/1/1983 ed.) revealed that this letter was passed by the German Embassy to their superiors along with a note by the agent of Nazi Secret Services in Damascus, Werner Otto von Heuting, who gave the following account of the negotiations with the emissaries Stern and Shamir. In it he said: "The cooperation between the Israeli Liberation Movement and the New European Order will be confirmed by the Chancellor of the Third Reich, Hitler, who in his discussion underlined the necessity to utilize all combinations to isolate and defeat England"(1)

Nobody appears to reproach Shamir for the terrorism he was formerly engaged in. Nobody has reminded him of the assassination of the U.N. mediator, Count Bernadotte. Other terrorists also have trodden French soil without making many waves: Baby Doc, Bokassa, Aoun, Hassan the Second. But these are legal, nay democratic, terrorists.

There is no the state of right. The majority of French sense it. One only has to look at the repetitive self-amnesty that the State top brass guarantee themselves. They are well aware of the millions of ignored U.N. resolutions that have never been upheld: there is only the State of right, which fits perfectly into the New World Order.

Rene Berthier,

Translated from Le Monde Libertaire, 13-19, Feb. 1992.

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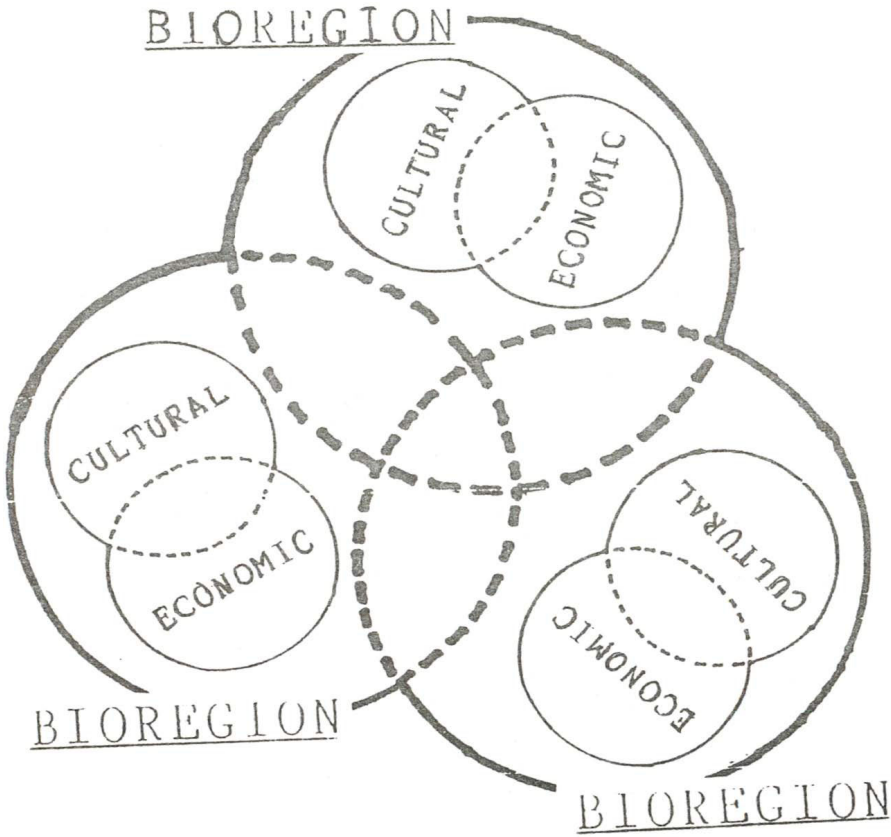
1) All information regarding Shamir comes from the article by Amnon Kapeliouk in the Diplomatic World December 1983. Kapeliouk states that documents can be consulted in the Memorial of the Holocaust (Yad Vachem) in Jerusalem. Classified under numbers E 234151-8. The negotiations with the Nazis are confirmed by one of the historical leaders of the Stern Gang, Israel Eldad, in the quotation in Yediot, 4th Feb.,1983, of Tel Aviv

BIOREGIONAL DICTATORSHIP



BASIC ORGANIZATIONAL FEATURES OF A WORLD ANARCHIST ORDER.

(continued)

Part B MACRO LEVEL COMPONENTS OF ANARCHIST SOCIETY

1. Cultural Region.
2. Biological Region.
3. Economic Region.

In the absence of the artificial boundaries of the nation-state--the naturally occurring region, along with the autonomous city would represent the most important unit of social, political, economic and ecological organization individual towns, cities, trades-unions and other mutual-aid associations would have to organize themselves with each other upon a regional and inter-regional basis The concept of region is complex, open-ended and multi faceted. What, however, is essential is that the majority of people identify and designate a particular area as a region Nonetheless, except in the most superficial of cases, the designation and identification of a piece of land as a region is always based upon a core mixture of human and non-human geographical features: cultural, economic, ecological and political - all of which are of equal importance and rightly influential in our perception and classification of regional difference and boundary.

CULTURAL REGION

The idea that Europe somehow leaped from tribalism to Roman civilization is a quite false one. The barbarians were not, as the school history books suggest, a disorderly, isolated and unconnected agglomeration of small warring tribes. Even a cursory glance at stonehenge or the bronze and gold work recovered from burial mounds shows us that the ancient britons were far from being a cultureless and disorderly mob of savages. Cultural evolution did not remain at a standstill from the times of the cave, the stone axe wooden beads and so called Roman Civilization On the contrary, barbarian culture had developed over many thousands of years, the various peoples and tribal groupings communicating, and traveling and trading extensively with one another and their legends, art, craft, iron, bronze and gold work achieving high levels of excellence Likewise, the immense complexity and enormous cultural diversity of African tribal life until its disruption by European colonization

is in all its aspects social structure language, art, architecture etc a source of wonderment, beauty and excitement

Although certain cultural groupings, such as the inhabitants of Easter Island of dense and impenetrable rainforest, developed and evolved for many thousands of years independently of any outside influences whatsoever, different human groupings did in most cases have a considerable amount of contact with one another and were neither isolated nor unconnected. In Asia, Africa and Europe numerous small bands or villages federated amongst themselves to form tribal-nations consisting of many hundreds of thousands of people. Although certain tribes, such as the South African Zulu, formed themselves into large authoritarian and centralized monarchies similar in structure to the modern state, in many cases, the numerous villages and groupings of which the tribal nation was composed were held together according to a complex non centralized web of communication, marriage, trade and shared culture little or no need was felt to develop centralized authoritarian power structures to administer and regulate themselves

Although the state in its modern form has only been with us for a few centuries a sense of nationhood, a wider sense of cultural-national identity that extends far beyond the individual band or tribe, has existed for many tens of thousands of years. The Australian aborigines, for example, despite speaking 700 different languages or dialects and being widely dispersed over an extremely large geographical area, shared a common religious experience in regard to the "land" and traveled and traded extensively with one another by means of a complex network of "dreaming tracks" that cover the entire continent. Trade in flint arrow-heads was likewise extensive in Stone-Age European life and huge flint mines have been uncovered. Even the vikings, who rightly or wrongly renowned for their spirit of rugged individualism, exhibited this sense of a wider national identity: representatives of all the most important viking tribal groupings periodically meeting on a particular spot at a pre-determined time (at the Thing Valir) to swap news and discuss common issues and concerns.

To whatever corner of the world we may turn our attention, it is fair to conclude that before the emergence of the great empires, cultural difference was much more prominant and tended to be distributed upon an eco-regional basis. Although mass migrations and invasions did occur these were as often as not due to prolonged drought or cold and several years of successive crop failure in a particular region which had forced people to seek new lands (this is certainly partially true of the Vikings) Generally the effects of

isolation by physical barriers, deserts, mountains and water etc., tended to create a large number of widely dispersed tribal groupings who were closely integrated with the surrounding ecology of their regions. Even the nomadic peoples of Artic, Africa and North America tended to follow the seasons, crossing the ice, the desert or the prairies and arriving at the same place and the same time each year in order to take advantage of different pasture grounds or the annual movement of large game. People were economically, culturally and ecologically embeded within their region - upon which they were completely dependent for their survival. Even in 18th and 19th century Europe, the existence of enormous cultural diversity on a regional basis was an established fact of everyday life to a much greater extent than it is today. Thus the founders of anarchism assumed that with the destruction of centralized governmental control, individual cities, trades-unions and other mutual aid associations would automatically federate according to natural and ethno-graphically determined autonomous regions.

Indeed the appeal of anarchism for many early 19th century Europeans was in many respects a romantic, though deeply felt, hankering for a return of a kind of golden age when regional geographical variation co-mingled and coalesced with extended tribal networks in the climax of the barbarian order. An era enwrapped in popular folk-lore depicting a 'free-age' of tribal-national solidarity before the emergence of Caesarism and the centralizing brutality which latterly accompanied the absorption and final collapse of this dynamic regionalist order with the crystalization of the state-monarchial order.

P.J. Proudhon (1809-1865), one of the intellectual founders of social anarchism who passionately admired the former independance of the swiss cantons and campaigned vigorously against the unification of Italy (which was not unified until the end of the 19th century), accepted this thesis as a self-evident fact of European political and social culture. This is never more apparent as when discussing the possibility of social anarchism within his native France. In one chapter of his then widely read and influential work a<u>The Principle of Federation</u> Proudhon attempts to delineate two thoroughly counterposing visions of the Gallic nation. The French nation prior to unification, claims Proudhon, consisted of a free federation of Gallic tribes: "Of four distinct races - Gauls, Cimbri, Gascons and Ligurians which was further divided into more than forty peoples" Although each and every one of these tribes had a separate and identifiable character, each and every one understood that the borders of the Gallic nation lay with the "North Sea, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Alps, the Pyrenees

and the Rhine". The early French nation rather than attempting the imperialistic and centralized absorption of diversity implied in Roman conquest and the development of the state in all its various manifestations had, on the contrary, formed a loose-knit but nonetheless effective confederation of national (and sub-national) Gallic tribal forces. All attempts at unification, however successful had, Proudhon asserts, historically led to a reduction in regional power and hence a reduction in the political and social power of the broad masses of the Gallic peoples.

When one examines the populist elements of Proudhon one is immediately struck by what one contemporary commentator, Richard Vernon, has recently called the "primordial" or "pre-political", one might say organic nature of his populist-federalist argument. Vernon continues:

> ...and whether such an antiquarian view is essential to his argument or not, he often wrote as though the local or regional communities which were to constitute federations were in some sense primordial or natural, pre-political entities whose distinct characters required political defence and political expression. (1)

Proudhon in his support of the region as the primary unit of macrolevel interfederation is thus to some extent based upon a biologistic-cultural argument in which the region is seen as a natural and organic interlinking of culture and environment.

The destruction of cultural diversity by state-capitalist imperialism in the 19th century has, in the twentieth, been a continuing trend. The effects of television and mass communication, in particular, tending to undermine regional autonomy has led to the development of "universal cultures" to such an extent that we now find no difficulty in understanding or using concepts as 'Western' or 'European' mainstream culture. This is not to say that cultural-national independence struggles are not an important aspect of contemporary political life. This is especially true where state boundaries take no account of significant cultural-national ones. The aspirations of the Basques in Spain or France or the Kurdish minorities in Russia, Turkey, Iran and Iraq are prominent examples of this problem. More generally, continuing conflict in the Indian and Russian empires also show us that the process of national-state-imperialism is far from a complete and durable political structure. A host of regional and cultural independence struggles in Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, Figi, East Timor, Yugoslavia etc around the world continually highlight the brutal artificial and unrealistic nature of centralized state control. Although at the international level cultural, economic and

political in the form of such bodies as European Economic Community, is in many respects extremely heartening - global and regional peace and prosperity is unlikely to emerge unless cultural imperialism is conquered once and for all. Even now the Scottish peoples are asking themselves if they would not be better off and regain their cultural-national pride through becoming an independent member of the European Economic Community. Europe will not achieve ecological and cultural stability unless the Basques, Catalans, the Kurds etc, are allowed the freedom, independence and self determination to solve their own unique problems and build their life according to their regional ecology and their historical and cultural aspirations.

Although the nation-state has made many of the social and moral evils of nationalism many, many times worse than it might otherwise have been, cultural difference has of itself been as much of a hinderance as it has been of benefits, to the social developments within our species. International or intertribal wars have unfortunately been as prominent a feature of human life as that of co-operation. Racism, ethnocentrism, colonialism and genocide are all the byproducts of nationalism and cultural diversity. Anarchism has never claimed that conflict can be eliminated or that such problems can be quickly and easily resolved--all that anarchism asks is that the various parties might solve their differences amongst themselves without the weight of state military authority backing one side or the other. Everytime the Russian Republic have driven their tanks into Hungary, Chekoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Ukraine etc., they have merely asserted their might, not their right, and have gone nowhere in the direction of peacefully resolving such conflicts for the better. The holocaust in Germany during World War II, of Stalin's purges in the 1930's, perhaps illustrating more than any other the dysfunctional, disintegrating and destructive effects of over-zealous nationalist sentiments which are rendered a thousand times more terrible through the development of the centralized military authority of the nation-state. Cultural intolerance, on a racial/tribal/national and territorial basis, has undoubtedly been a major obstacle to the peaceful, eco-regionally integrated and globally harmonious evolution of our species. Nationalism is however a fact of everyday human-cultural life and the large number of unresolved nationalist independence struggles mean that the nation, defined as a federation of culturally related regions and territories, even with the elimination of the nation-state will remain the single most important component of the anarchists social vision for the foreseeable future. From a longer-term point of view modern studies in genetics have shown that biological differences between the human races are not great. It is difficult in itself to observe any really significant dif-

ference in the genetic coding between chimpanzees and humans and at the micro-biological level the real difference between an Australian aboriginal and Western European are so small as to be nearly insignificant. Beyond this, mass migrations resulting from both bloody conquest and peaceful driftings make the idea that it would be desirable or even possible to organize life solely upon a territorial-cultural basis, in the very long term future an increasingly absurd proposition. Although the landrights movements of the Inguit, Red Indians and aboriginal peoples are not insignificant. This is especially true of countries such as Canada, America and Australia in which the vast majority of its inhabitants are immigrants from every country in the world who are, moreover, for the most part genuinely dedicated to an ideology of multi-culturalism and whose original, primordial, organic and racial-cultural connection to their country of birth or to that piece of earth beneath their feet has been broken for ever. Despite the nauseating patriotism of American televison many immigrants after generations still regard the mother country as Ireland, England or Russia. They remain in many respects still foreigners in their own country. The attempt to artificially restore this sense or an original, ancient and organic enrootedness though centralized government and the nation-state is an absurdity.

Unlike the Americans, whose fauna and flora is not dissimilar to that of Northern Europe and who fought a war of independence against the English, asserting thereby a more profoundly nationalist identity, the Australian Bicentennial celebrations represented a tragic inability to realise that and to characterize Australia as a nation and take such an idea seriously, was to fail to appreciate the makings of a good joke.

B THE ECOLOGICAL REGION

An even more compelling reason the nation and nationalism cannot remain the primary means of demarcating social and political space and boundary is that it is an approach to social organization which is completely human centred. Many of the national-state borders which we now regard as important, such as the 49th parallel dividing America and Canada, do not bear any correspondence to ecological and biological factors. There is no difference in fauna, flora, climate and physiography for many hundreds of miles either side of the dividing line. The Swiss, Italian and French Alps are likewise divided according to human-cultural rather than to ecological or biological considerations. It is obvious that if we are to gain a proper relationship to the natural bio-geography of our planet we cannot contunue to divide its surface according th the formula: 100% HUMAN-CEN-

TRED NATIONALIST DETERMINANTS OVER 0.00% ALL OTHER GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS INCLUDING THE ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ALL OTHER ORGANIC LIFE FORMS.

The lack of significant difference within the human species; the disintegration of any direct relationship between culture and territory in the breakdown and imperialist destruction of an organic tribal-national order; and the pressing need to make human activities and lifestyles increasingly more integrated with the delicate eco-regional balance of our living planet; and indeed for a host of other equally compelling reason it should be a safe bet to assume that if our species is fortunate enough to survive another hundred thousand years the naturally occurring ecological region will almost certainly have become the primary method of demarcating social, economic and cultural space.

The science of bio-regionalism attempts to explain and delineate regional limits primarily in terms of non-socio-economic determinants. It is thus an attempt to empirically asses the limits of 'natural boundary' with particular reference to physical and non-human geography. Thereby seeking to establish an independent and universally acceptable scientific method of delineating region that is not subject to the mysticism and petit-nationalism which has all too frequently been associated with the populist aspirations of regional independence struggles.

Bio-regionalism represent an important and unique method of demarcating political space. Changes in (a) species distribution, (b) climate, (c) drainage and rainfall and (d) physiography, supply us with the empirical data needed to produce a more or less scientifically arrived at picture of natural or bio-regional boundary. Let us, for example, take (a) species distribution, as a criterion of bio-regional limit. Bio-regionalists argue that the 'biotic shift'--the percentage change in plant and animal compostion from one place to another -- would when measured and cross-referenced with other factors (viz. climate, rainfall, physiography, etc) provide us with a blurred but nonetheless usable map of bio-regional variation. Bio-regionalism thus suggests that in a new age of ecological radicalism and biological realism political boundaries would be increasingly more sensitive to natural and more or less scientifically measurable limits of these macro-biologically distinct entities of which the planetary bio-sphere is composed.

BIO-REGIONAL INTERFEDERATION

Bio-regionalism begins by emphasizing and observing that the accumulated accidents of geology compounded by the va-

garies of spontaneous biological evolution has created a living planet containing a plethora of unique ecological regions and sub-regions. It is further argued that the existence of biotic diversity on a regional basis is a vital component of world ecological stability. Inhabitants of distinct biotic regions must engage in modes of socio-ecological behaviour and interaction consistent with the preservation of such regions as life sustaining and self-renewing macro-biological entities.

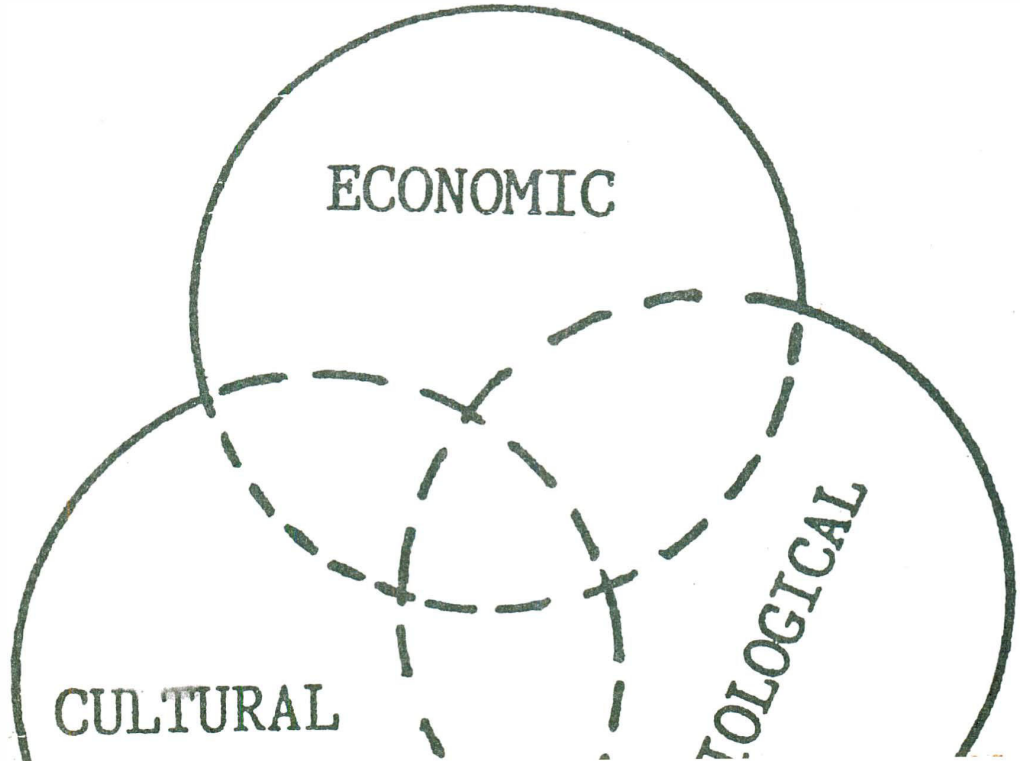
Although the prime geographical unit according to the bio-rgionalist perspective is thus that of the natural or 'eco-community' such matrixes, although astoundingly diverse, cannot be regarded as closed integers but are dependent for their survival upon wider external determinants. The need for clean air and the inter-continental migration of bird and marine life, etc., not only show us that bio-regional boundaries are extremely permeable but also their extreme interdependence on a global scale. Bio-regions must be capable of living in a dynamic ecological and federative harmony with other, neighbouring and even furflung and ecologically remote bio-regions. Each bio-region must not only strive to ensure its own continuous happiness but must strive to take a responsible place in a delicately complex inter-regional, continental and inter-continental or global federation of environmental forces.

THE ECONOMIC REGION

At the present time one of the major causes of environmental destruction and mass pollution is large-scale concentrations of agricultural and industrial activity. The fact that large quantities of oil, coal or uranium lie many hundreds of feet beneath the surface of the Earth has led to the development of large towns and cities in areas where, if only cultural and ecological factors were considered, large-scale human habitation would in all probability never have occurred. This problem has been exacerbated by the fact that many of these large-scale industrial processes are ecologically damaging in their own right - producing toxic substances which have been buried for many, many millions of years, or which are only naturally found in very small amounts upon the surface or, more chillingly, the likes of which have never-ever occurred in nature before. It is obvious to all that humankind's technological, industrial and economic experiments must undergo enormous changes and become much more integrated with the biology and ecology of our living planet.

Although evironmental impact studies are now commonplace, the suitability of the region for human co-habitation or

BIOREGIONAL PARTNERSHIP



Economic

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Cultural

regional or subregional distribution of culture

Biological

regional distibution of macrobiological entities known as bio-regions

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efficiently than other plants the dry product can be made into fuels, plastics and other useful materials. Algae can be grown on a local basis, indeed anywhere where there is sufficient water and sunlight. In place of the large-scale and ecologically non-integrated petro-chemical complexes which have characterized the oil-steel-coal era one can imagine an industrial infrastructure based upon a larger number of smaller botanochemical concerns producing a variety of material - plastics, fuel, food and building materials at the level of the individual and ecologically integrated city-region. Solar and wind energies despite massive state-corporate opposition is at last beginning to make an increasingly large contribution to local energy supplies.

Although progress in these ecologically more sensitive and locally orientated technological approaches to fuel and energy production have been slow it is obvious that the dominant steel-coal-oil economic paradigm is in any case, through resource depletion, already doomed to extinction. Besides the finite nature of coal and oil resources, the shipping or piping of all of the U.S.A.'s or Russia's energy from the Middle East or Siberia is not only inefficient it is also destabilizing. The recent oil war over Kuwait can only serve to remind us of this fact. More generally, like individuals, only those towns and cities which are able to cater for their needs and requirements from their own regional resources and industries may be truely free and independent of outside interference, imperialism, economic domination and enslavement by others.

The idea of a totally self-reliant city is perhaps a utopian one. Differences in climate, physiography and natural vegetation etc., do of themselves make for an often very uneven distribution of scarce resources. It may not be possible to grow trees in a large number of ecological regions and, substitutes for wood or chip being impracticable, supplies of timber have to be brought in from elsewhere. Certain important minerals and substances are so rare and found in so few places that it is inevitable that their regions should be associated with their extraction and processing. Anarchism, as previously discussed, hopes that the international trades-union movement will work co-operatively to ensure that such resources are distributed to where they are needed on an equitable and rational basis. On the whole, however, the trend towards an individual city or region being dominated and dependant upon a single industry or resource is one that must be replaced by tendencies towards increasing local self-sufficiency where each individual city-region or federation of them is able to grow, manufacture, distribute and recycle the majority of its basic agro-industrial necessities.

CONCLUSION: THE REGIONAL INTEGRATION OF CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND ECOLOGICAL LIFE AND ACTIVITY

Our analysis has shown that capitalist exploitation and national-state dictatorship of nature must be succeeded by a new model of human organization that has placed the idea of national-state-borders and economic imperialism to the history books and instead seeks to gain harmony in the organization of a global federation of ecological regions. The primary unit of social and economic life being that of the eco-regionally integrated and self-governing city.

All of this does not however imply a situation where patterns of economic and cultural life are made to fit the limits of crude biological determinism or a kind of eco-regional dictatorship. Bio-regionalism in its purest theoretical formulation requires cultural and economic determinants to be organically tailored to a particular bio-region on a one to one basis. This kind of bio-regional purism is usually associated with the viewpoint that the bio-region when considered as an eco-system is a near all-embracing biological entity of which humans form only a small part and to which all forms of cultural and economic life should be completely subservient. Complete bio-regional integrity will only come about when the culturally accepted political unit is that of the bio-region.

The political concept of region is however an enormously complex matrix of which bio-regional determinants are one amongst many, though albeit, woefully neglected at the present time. Unless we are looking into the very distant past or of the very distant future the ecological region is highly unlikely, except in very special circumstances (eg. on small and isolated islands), to ever serve as the sole criterion for the demarcation of political and regional space. To declare that it could do so is merely to express a conservative and unchanging attitude to nature in which environmental change and development is regarded as something evil in itself. Nature is however always modifying itself and to deny this fact is to deny the very fact of evolutionary process. Besides all animals change and alter their environment through the very act of living and evolving.

Humankind through its industrial and cultural practices over many, many centuries has had a profound effect upon its surrounding environment. Often changing or interrupting the ecology of whole regions and continents. Although much of this activity has been very very destructive, change need not imply disaster and may indeed produce ecological success, enhancing and improving regional ecology or creating new and exciting environments. The British countryside, for example, is renowned for its beauty and diversity. Para-

doxically there has existed no wilderness in Britain for several thousand years and it was the first country to industrialise. Every inch of all the available land has been continuously and consciously moulded, shaped and changed in order to cater for the economic and cultural requirements of its inhabitants. Nonetheless, for all that, until the reckless expansionism of recent years the British Isles has preserved much of its wildlife and adorned its country areas with grace and charm, the collective result of the artistic and constructive genius of all the people of the land over countless generations.

In some cases industrial activity accidentally enriches the surrounding environment. The hundreds of miles of canals that criss-cross the English country-side have become a haven for water life. Likewise the Norfolk Broads in England's East Anglia was originally formed when deep chanels were dug in order to collect peat for fuel, these in time filled with water, creating a living Venice in which a great variety of life has found a home in its complex maze of watercourses. Nature, as it were, naturally enhancing the industrial activities of our species. Agricultural practices, although capable of doing much damage, have likewise provided new habitats in which indigenous regional plant and animal life might make a home. The dry-stone walls and hedgerows that form the characteristic patchwork of the British countryside of themselves providing new habitats for many species of wall-fern, plants and birdlife. In other instances co-operation between agriculture and nature was more conscious - such as the old tradition of building barns with built in nesting holes for barn-owls to control the mice population. On a more extensive scale much of nearby Holland's agricultural land has been formed through land reclamation by means of a complex system of drainage dykes or canals. Even the Australian Aboriginals had a profound effect upon the ecology of the land. In order to encourage a plentiful supply of game, in turn dependent upon a plentiful supply of fresh shoots, the aboriginals over many thousands of years developed an extensive pattern of controlled bush-burning. The activities of humankind, in this instance, actually ensured the survival of many species and with the arrival of the European invaders many species became extinct because the bush-burning upon which their survival depended was no longer being performed.

A bio-region is a dynamic, living and constantly evolving macro-biological entity that is not static and unchanging and usually has a great number of social-ecological possibilities which may or may not involve varying degrees of human manipulation and offer differing prospects of maintaining life-renewable and harmonic forms of bio-social existence. Social-Ecological Anarchism in advocating the

idea of the bio-region does not ask us to subject all cultural and economic life to bio-regional dictatorship. Social-Ecological-Anarchism stresses rather, the need for economic, cultural and biological balance or partnership where economic and cultural patterns are integrated rather than being determined by their surrounding ecological regions. Social-Ecological-Anarchism accepts that a region may be significantly altered by a large range of cultural and economic practices but nonetheless holds to a soft determinist position which continuously underlines that socio-economic practices must be sensitive to local ecological conditions and consistantly capable of preserving the integrity of their surrounding bio-regions. Social-Ecological-Anarchism stresses that hydrocephalic concentration, mass culture and centralized (governmental or a non-regional) external power has resulted in imperialistic and non-integrated forms of industry and agriculture that are completely incapable of preserving the regional ecological integrity so vital for planetary biospheric survival.

Social-Ecological-Anarchism, whilst acknowledgeing that transregional-economic concerns are an important and unavoidable dimension of human life calls for the immediate and through-going application of appropriately re-scaled agro-industrial practices and technology which are intimately linked to regional needs and locally available renewable and non-renewable resources.

Similarly, while acknowledging the historical importance of transregional cultural affiliation, Social-Ecological-Anarchism nonetheless calls for a renewed and ecologically informed sense of regional uniqueness in each community. A sense not only of generalized or global dependence but of dependence on a specific region with distinct ecological needs and qualities of its own.

Social-Ecological-Anarchism presents us with a vision of human society where our species neither allows itself to dominate nor be dominated by nature and the ecological region; nor it must be said does anarchism merely ask us to live in harmony with nature. Social-Ecological-Anarchism hopes rather, through the proper balancing of economic, cultural and ecological factors upon a regional basis, to actively enhance and improve upon the beauty, generosity and creative potentiality of organic life and nature. Elisee Reclus (1830-1905) one of the bio-geographers and great anarchist writers of the last century, in the following passage perhaps most perfectly expresses the breadth and moral beauty of the social-ecological and anarchist world vision

Humankind's great efforts to drain marshes and lakes,

to overcome natural obstacles, to modify the distribution of plant and animal species is, in itself, a fact of decisive importance in the transformation of the planet. It can beautify the earth as well as make it ugly. Depending on the social awareness and customs of each people, nature is either degraded or elevated. Humankind moulds to its own image the country they inhabit. The barbarian, after centuries of brutal exploitation, had given the earth a ferocious, brutal aspect, whereas the civilized person, by intelligent cultivation, can make it radiate with grace, so to speak, in such a manner that the stranger who passes feels gently accepted and relaxes with confidence on its bosom.('Du sentiment de la nature dans les societies modernes' Revue de Deux Mondes, Vol. 63, 15 May 1866,pp 352-381).

Although having been misrepresented by governments and the bourgeois press, its followers misunderstood, persecuted and executed, and the average person rendered unknowledgeable and ill-informed about its fundamental aims, principles and traditions, Social-Anarchism, does for all that, represent a vision of economic, ecological and social harmony which when presented in a clear and logical manner radiates a moral beacon whose light will never be extinguished by state-capitalist lies and bourgeois pseudo-science.

If we are to once again achieve confidence in nature and rest assured in the complex survival processes of our living planet, Anarchism, like monarchism, imperialism, marxism,feminism, statism, environmentalism etc., must enter the intellectual and practical politics of the everyday life of the people. Anarchism as a body of social and scientific thought is as yet a budding tree of knowledge, which, although occasionaly opening a flower in a brief thaw in a late winter frost, is waiting and ready to flower and bear fruit. Monarchism, capitalism, statism on the other hand may have already fruited (monarchism certainly has), and are now in a process of decay. Anarchism in its vision of a global federation of ecologically integrated city-regions stands poised to rise and cast shade over all the other trees in the orchard of political ideals.

Graham Purchase

The Mystery of Kropotkin and Radcliffe-Brown

In 1978 Richard Perry published an article in which he maintained that the famous Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin had deeply influenced British social anthropology.(1) The medium of this influence was A R Radcliffe-Brown, a significant figure in the history of the discipline.

A difficulty with Perry's argument is that Radcliffe-Brown seems never to have mentioned Kropotkin in his writings. Moreover Perry fails to show that the two ever met. The standard biography of Kropotkin, The Anarchist Prince by George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, which is very detailed on Kropotkin's life in England, refers neither to Radcliffe-Brown (who was plain Brown at that time) nor to British social anthropology.

Perry bases his case on circumstantial evidence. As a student at Cambridge in the early years of the century Radcliffe-Brown was known as "Anarchy Brown", which suggests an interest in anarchism. In those days Kropotkin was extremely well known in England, where he was the most prominent anarchist thinker. It can be assumed that Anarchy Brown would have been familiar with his ideas. With these considerations as his starting point Perry goes on to argue that much in Radcliffe-Brown's anthropology is directly attributable to Kropotkin.

The case is intriguing, but the circumstantial evidence on which Perry relies is less than compelling. If it breaks down, then the suggested parallels between Kropotkin and Radcliffe-Brown (assuming them to be genuine) would have to be explained in some other way. My aim is to see whether Perry's case can be strengthened. Making it stronger would be of interest from at least two points of view.

On the one hand we would know a little more about the cultural and intellectual significance of anarchism this century. On the other hand we would have a better understanding of the anthropology of Radcliffe-Brown. Here it may be mentioned that aspects of his thought continue to receive controversial attention and that he is especially important in the historical development of Australian anthropology. He carried out research in Western Australia in 1910-12 and returned here in 1914, only to be caught by the outbreak of war. For a while he supported himself by schoolmastering in Sydney, before leaving for Tonga in 1916 and later for

South Africa. In 1926 Radcliffe-Brown came to Sydney to take up the country's first chair of anthropology. He left again in 1931, for Chicago and later Oxford, but in those few years in Sydney he attracted from Australia and overseas a number of men and women who were to be among the ablest anthropologists of the next few decades. In particular, he gave a powerful impetus to the study of Aboriginal society.

There is more than circumstantial evidence that Radcliffe-Brown knew Kropotkin and that he had anarchist opinions, at least for a time. Though fragmentary, it seems sufficient to throw light on this minor mystery of anarchism and antrhropology.

Twenty years before Perry's article a collection of Radcliffe-Brown's writings was posthumously published. (2) The Indian anthropologist M.N Srinivas edited it and wrote an introduction which included this paragraph:

> Radcliffe-Brown used to tell friends and colleagues that Prince Peter Kropotkin was his neighbour in Birmingham and that during his vacations from Cambridge (where he was known as 'Anarchy Brown') he used to visit the great Anarchist philosopher. On these occasions they discussed everything, including Radcliffe-Brown's panaceas for what be regarded as the ills of contemporary England.Kropotkin pointed out to the young reformer that it was necessary to study and understand society before trying to change it and that in order to understand such a complex society as Victorian England one should begin by making a systematic study of a faraway primitive society.

Srinivas does not say whether he was among those to whom Radcliffe-Brown told these things or whether he learned of them at second hand. In any event a certain doubt has been cast on his account by Ian Langham in a history of the rise of British social anthropology.(3) Having paraphrased the passage I quoted he adds a note that "Meyer Fortes informs me that Radcliffe-Brown 'never said' that Kropotkin was his neighbour in Birmingham but claimed to have met Kropotkin in Kent while on holiday there." Fortes, who greatly admired Radcliffe-Brown, had known him over a long period.

Is it possible to clear up this disagreement as to place so long after the meeting or meetings occurred? More important, is it likely that a man as famous as Kropotkin, and as engrossed in political theorizing and scholarly research, would have been receptive to an obscure student?

On the first point we are fortunate that Woodcock and Avakumovic list all the places at which the Kropotkins lived in England between 1886, when they arrived from France, and 1917, when they left for Russia. Birmingham is not among them. Their longest stay was in Bromley, where they lived from 1894 to 1907. This period would cover Anarchy Brown's career as a student at Cambridge, which began when he won a scholarship to Trinity College in 1901. Bromley was a small town in those days, sufficiently far from the London sprawl to be regarded as "in the country". Also it is in Kent, which tallies with what Fortes told Langham.

Radcliffe-Brown did, however, have a long association with Birmingham. He was born and had much of his schooling there. Around the turn of the century he studied at the University of Birmingham and worked for the Birmingham Public Library; in 1913-14 he was to lecture at the university. It would be easy enough for those who listened to Radcliffe-Brown's tales about himself, or heard them at second hand, to confuse places, especially when the passage of time is allowed for. It would be even easier if he or others were using the dialect name for Birmingham (Brummagem).

On the second point---the likelihood of Kropotkin receiving someone like Radcliffe-Brown and exchanging ideas with him--- we can again draw on Woodcock and Avakumovic. They show that he had an astonishing range of friends, admirers and acquaintances, many of whom were not anarchists. It was common for him to receive visitors. Neither a recluse nor a snob he did not try to build a wall against others. Woodcock and Avakumovic say this of Kropotkin:

> His hospitality was wide, and in those Bromley days the list of visitors was extended far beyond the group of Russians who were the regular attendants at Harrow (where the Kropotkins lived before shifting to Bromley). Malatesta, Louise Michel, the Spaniard Torrida del Marmol and revolutionaries of almost every European and American country mingled with Fabians like Shaw and Pease, trade unionists like Tom Mann, Guy Bowman and Ben Tillett, artists like Moscheles, craftsmen like Cobden-Sanderson, writers like Nevinson and Ford, and odd figures of the literary half-world like Frank Harris.

They quote Frank Harris himself:

> Peter's graciousness as a host was among his most lovable traits. He had the rare gift of making even a stranger feel at home in his presence. He was always deeply concerned in the personal life and struggle of the people who came to him. 4

There can be little doubt that an obscure young student with political interests or a "social conscience" would have been courteously received by Kropotkin. I do not know whether he mixed with other visitors to Bromley, but other information about Radcliffe-Brown suggests that he would have found the Bromley milieu congenial. Here we can refer to two anthropologists---both to become major figures in the discipline--who were attracted to Sydney by Radcliffe-Brown during his tenure of the chair (1926-31).

W.E.H. Stanner wrote:

> He soon became the centre of a circle of scientists, intellectuals, artists and musicians...He was a friend of some of the men and women whose work and influence were then, and have since been, of much importance in Australian culture and science...Some of his more staid colleagues thought him Bohemian...I am afraid that he was outside the stereotypes of academic Australia...He was gay, witty, and social-minded as well as learned, and airily indifferent to the fact that there were many dull pedagogues who did not care for his style. Many of his views were, or seemed, startlingly different, and this gave a convenient focus for the small dislikes of narrow people.(5)

Raymond Firth wrote that Radcliffe-Brown had:

> ...outside his academic life, a set of friends who admired him for his intelligence and culture...He cultivated the arts...He moved when he chose in the highest circles of Sydney society. But what seems to have pleased him most were the small informal gatherings at which he held forth on an amazing range of subjects ...his conversation had great point and often great charm; his approach was usually fresh and his ideas stimulating.(6)

Yes, I think it safe to assume that Radcliffe-Brown would have felt at home at Bromley, and could have held his own among Kropotkin's other visitors. Two further matters are worth relating.

One is that Radcliffe-Brown told Fortes that as a boy he used to visit the Havelock Ellises. Ellis, of course, was famous as a scientist and man of letters, particularly for his researches and speculations on the psychology of sex He was also interested in Kropotkin. Mrs Ellis accused the schoolboy of having swallowed an encyclopaedia (7)...testimony, one supposes, to his opinionated talkativeness.

The Ellises were a very strange couple,(8) and one can

only wonder at a boy making their acquaintance if the way had not already been paved for him by others. Radcliffe-Brown was only five when his father died, leaving a penniless widow to bring up three young children. Could it be that his mother moved in, or at least on the fringes of, the unconventional circles in which Ellis and Kropotkin would have been well known? If so, it would have eased his entry to those circles, to say nothing of helping to furnish his mind with views that were "startlingly different".

The other matter requires more of a digression, though once again Kropotkin comes into it. Among the young anthropologists whom Radcliffe-Brown attracted to Sydney was Camilla Wedgwood of the pottery family. Her father, Colonel Josiah Wedgwood M.P., was not only a patriotic Englishman but a champion of neglected causes and a friend of Kropotkin. Woodcock and Avakumovic record that he spoke at a 70th birthday celebration for Kropotkin, held at London's Palace Theatre in 1912. Colonel Wedgwood shared the platform with Bernard Shaw and various leading anarchists and radicals. Thomas Wedgwood, an ancestor of his, had been a benefactor of William Godwin, the first English theorist of anarchism. During the 1920s Josiah was to support another noted anarchist Emma Goldman, in his campaign to make known the truth about Soviet Russia.(9)

Whether Camilla, who was born in 1901, took any interest in Kropotkin or anarchism I do not know. Nor do I know whether she ever discussed them with Radcliffe-Brown. Perhaps it was just a coincidence that she, with her family connections, should have been brought to Sydney by the man who had been Anarchy Brown.

That Radcliffe-Brown knew Kropotkin would not prove that he was ever an anarchist. His student nickname of "Anarchy" is suggestive though not conclusive. After all, Fortes has written that the nickname "was a friendly recognition of the streak of aloofness in him and of his reputation for holding somewhat highbrow ideas in matters of art, life and literature."(10) He could have been an extreme individualist, who fascinated his fellows by bohemianism and studied unconventionality. So we are justified in asking whether he really owed anything to Kropotkin.

Srinivas thought he did. Radcliffe-Brown was urged to understand society before trying to change it and to approach the understanding of complex societies through the study of simpler tribal peoples. It is certainly true that Radcliffe-Brown's reputation in anthropology is largely based on his studies of the Andaman Islanders and the Australian Aborigines and that he undertook fieldwork after meeting Kropotkin. Confirmation of the points made by Srinivas can

be found in Fortes. Having observed that it is well known that Radcliffe-Brown's greatest affinity was with Durkheim and his followers, Fortes stated:

> It is not so well known, however, that the original stimulus to take up the study of comparative sociology and to pay special attention to the simpler societies came from an acquaintance with Kropotkin. This famous Russian scholar, whose book on Mutual Aid (1902) had come as a salutory corrective to the extravagant application of the notion of the 'struggle for existence' in social and political philosophy, was living in England.(11)

Granted the influence, we may still query the anarchism. Luckily there are two sources which put matters beyond doubt.

E.L. Grant Watson, a naturalist who wass to become a sort of mystic, assisted Radcliffe-Brown for part of the 1910-12 expedition to Western Australia. In his autobiography Watson speaks of having, as a Cambridge man himself, first met the anthropologist: "Brown, Anarchy Brown, as he was then called, for he had been a declared Anarchist, had a peculiar reputation..." They must have discussed the subject, for Watson states that:

> At the time I knew him he had renounced his doctrine of Anarchism. Anarchism was an ideal, he said, the freedom of the kingdom of Heaven, and not the rule of earth. Socialism, that was the best we could hope to achieve, but there were dangers; anything that exalted the state above the individual, that was evil.(12)

It can be difficult to draw a line between anarchism and socialism, but fear that the state might be exalted and the individual crushed shows that Radcliffe-Brown's was a special kind of socialism that had little to do with what anarchists condemn as state socialism. It is interesting to compare this passage from Watson with an observation about Kropotkin by Woodcock and Avakumovic:

> As the 1890's advance, the note of esxtreme optimism begins to fade from his writings. The revolution, instead of taking place next year, or in ten years, will probably be far ahead, and even when it comes may only give a partial realisation of anarchy. In the meantime, a long work of preparation will be necessary...(13)

If Radcliffe-Brown had ever been an optimistic anarchist he might well have been persuaded to a more gradualist position by the subdued Kropotkin of the furn of the century, whose absorption in scientific studies (such as (Mutual

Aid) was connected with his loss of revolutionary fervour.

The passage from Watson continues with these words:

> The Germans would easily make an ideal socialist state, their virtue of obedience and their vice of authoritarianism fitted them for the task... He did not, so far as I remember, mention the Russians except to deplore the Czarist regime. The French he loved, and sought to mould himself upon their pattern. In comparison with the cultured discernment of the French, the British were but barbarians and traders.

These views of Radcliffe-Brown are strikingly reminiscent of Kropotkin. Woodcock and Avakumovic make many illuminating observations. As early as 1882 he was showing himself to be anti-German and a Francophile. His inordinate admiration for Republican France led him into a displaced patriotism, which made him think it worthwile to take up arms for France against Germany---the culmination of this line of thinking was his support for the 1914-18 war, in defiance of the great majority of anarchists. Germany he saw as authoritarian and militaristic, a permanent threat to the ideals of "liberty, equality, fraternity" embodied in France since 1789. As for the English, they were "a nation of shop keepers engaged in buying and selling", he told Emma Goldman when she visited him at Bromley in 1895. (14)

The other piece of testimony to Radcliffe-Brown's anarchism comes from Firth:

> His anarchism seems to have been a compound of several elements: his idealism, his personal acquaintance with Russians at Cambridge, and perhaps a deeply hidden romantic feeling for heroic danger and for doomed causes. Later, the personal reasons which may have helped to crystallize these anarchistic views passed away and he renounced this doctrine, arguing that socialism and not anarchism was a more realizable aim.

Firth also speaks of Radcliffe-Brown's individuality, his freedom from convention, his attraction to "unpopular but intellectually defensible causes"; once he half-jokingly declared himself to be a Zen Buddhist. In a folder containing notes he had prepared for a debate in Sydney on the authorship of Shakespeare's plays was a slip of paper with the remark in his handwriting: "Those twin Goliaths of authority and received opinion have ever been among the greatest enemies of human knowledge."(15) The socialism which replaced Radcliffe-Brown's anarchism must have been of the most libertarian variety. Perhaps it was based on the Guild Socialism

advocated by William Morris, an old friend and sparring partner of Kropotkin.

If Radcliffe-Brown knew and was influenced by Kropotkin, and held similar opinions for at least part of his life, including his most formative years, why is the Russian not mentioned in his published work? Apart from the general consideration that a person's views are often not fully expressed in his writings, I can only point out that Radcliffe-Brown's style was far removed from the confessional. When he refers to others it is normally to take up some specific theoretical point or ethnographic detail relevant to his own analysis and argument. There remains, however, the question of the resemblances suggested by Perry between Radcliffe-Brown's way of thinking about society---his general approach, as one might call it---and Kropotkin's ideas. I hope to take up this question in a second article.

NOTES

1 "Radcliffe-Brown and Kropotkin: the heritage of anarchism in British social anthropology" Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, 1978, pp. 61-65.
2 Methods in Social Anthropology (University of Chicago Press, 1958).
3 The Buildin of British Social Anthropology (Reidel, 1981), at pp. 252-3.
4 The Anarchist Prince (Boardman, 1950), at pp. 250-1.
5 "A.R. Radcliffe-Brown", Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, 1955, at p. 116.
6 "Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown 1881-1955", Proceedings of the British Academy, 1956, at pp. 295-6.
7 Meyer Fortes, "Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, F.B.A., 1881-1955: a memoir" Man, 1956, at p. 149.
8 See, for example, Vincent Brome, Havelock Ellis: Philosopher of Sex (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979) and Phyllis Grosskurth, Havelock Ellis (Allen Lane, 1980).
9 Emma Goldman, Living My Life (Alfred Knopf, 1931), at pp. 964, 967, 969, 971.
10 Man, 1956, at p. 153.
11 Social Structure: Essays Presented to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (Clarendon Press, 1949), at p. viii.
12 But to what Purpose: the Autobiography of a Contemporary (Cresset Press, 1946), at pp. 83, 85.
13 The Anarchist Prince, at p. 244.
14 Ibid., at pp. 186, 202, 253, 296-7, 341.
15. Proceedings of the British Academy, 1956, at p. 290.

Review.

The Last Lion . Winston Spencer Churchill. Alone.1932-1940. by William Manchester.
(London; Little, Brown and Company,1988.)

The Drift To War. 1922-1939. by Richard Lamb.
(London; W.H. Allen, 1989.)

Why review two books three years after their release? The major advantage is that time enables a reviewer to examine how a book has been either accepted, rejected or used by society and discuss how a book can reflect trends within society. Both these books do that; whatever their authors intended.

They both deal with a Europe divided by nationalism and plagued with recession. Europe is now on the verge of unification and capitalism is accommodating to a new internationalism. This is based in the economics of interdependence and expansion through multinationals, which either buy into, or undersell the local producer. The nationalistic or racial mentality, which puts localized self- interest before the multinational self-interest by creating tariffs, zoning laws, protectionist polices and migration restrictions, is now a barrier which has to go.

In the cold war era dictators such as Noriega, Marcos, Zia, Kuanda, both Husseins, Obote, Doe, Devallier, Stoessner, Chiang Wei-kuo and Pinochet had a double value. They were not only military allies and armaments customers, but efficent suppressors of their own people. Now the collapse of communism has made their military value obsolescent and most capitalists have realized that consumerism and media manipulation, rather than repression, make effective controls. Look through the above names and consider how many have been removed and replaced by less obvious exploiters. How many of these new leaders have opened up their nations to free trade policies since? How many surviving dictators, such as Mobuto, Moi, De Klerk, and Suharto have been pressured to "democratise and develop" and become "part of the world community"? How many dictators have recently been compared to Hitler by people like Bush, Thatcher, Hawke and the oil lords and media magnates? This isn't to say that their comparisions are totally false; but after generations of turning a blind eye to the rule of de-facto allies such as Franco, Salazar, Haille Sallassie, Stroessner, and the Somoza, Devallier, Pahveli and Kai-Shek dynasties, this sudden turn is suspicious.

When someone like Keating can state "I am an internationalist" and be applauded by President Bush, and an enthused chorus of Australia's leading businessmen, a good concept has been assimilated.1

Both these books, useing many of the same sources, but coming from slightly different perspectives, follow these current concepts and apply them to Europe between the world wars. They state that narrow nationalism, isolationism, a crisis of confidence, Western Europe's fear of militarism and the effects of the 1929 depression, all combined to cause Hitler's rise to power. Once Hitler was in power this same outlook was worsened by erratic, cowardly and opportunist diplomacy, which frequently encouraged Hitler to take over other states. This was done partly out of fear of another world war; but also to establish Nazi Germany as an ally or at least as a counter to communism.

Manchester and Lamb use abundant primary source material to show that the leading appeasers (especially Neville Chamberlain) were not the nice, niave, liberally minded peace lovers they, the media, many historians and generations of schoolteachers have claimed they were.

Chamberlain in particular emerges in both books as lacking foresight, consistency, courage, loyalty, self-confidence or great intelligence. He survived; partly by his ability to tell the public what it wanted to hear, partly by his physical appearance and manner. These played on the popular belief of trusting someone with the manners, voice and pedigree of an upper class English gentleman. Behind this successful facade Manchester and Lamb show a man trying to" muddle through" dealing with Hitler and when this didn't work, he would do anything to avoid either a conflict or an unpopular decision. It is not generally known that Chamberlain was attempting to to betray his Polish allies just after Hitler invaded Poland or that in the year immediately after his more successful betrayal at Munich, over a quarter of a million Czechs were murdered, imprisoned or exiled by the Nazis.2.

This concept is hardly fresh news to any leftists. What is intersting is that Manchester and Lamb, very conservative writers, have taken this viewpoint and merged it with a conservative staple: dictators cannot be negotiated with, but only crushed. Therefore big military arsenals must be kept. During the gulf crisis Bush frequently compared Saddam Hussein to Hitler and those who wished to negotiate to the 1930,s appeasers.

For these reasons Manchester's **The Last Lion.** was much invoked in America and Britain during the gulf crisis. Hawke discussed its lessons in an immediate response to a reporter's question about why Australia sent frigates to the gulf.3 Lamb's **The Drift To War 1922-1939.** will probably be invoked against anyone who sees demerits in European Federation.

Some of lamb's work; such as the little known hostility between Mussolini and Hitler, and the sad failures of Weimar Germany, the 1920's disarmament

conferences and the 1929 Briand plan for a European Common Market, are fascinating. However Lamb,s book has major flaws with accuracy and reliability. In one page he makes several basic factual errors. The Spanish Civil War began three days earlier than he states. The war was not started by Franco and he was not initially the Nationalist leader. Lamb gives the impression the war started with a Franco led Morrocan invasion of Spain, rather than a mainland uprising which was days old before the Morrocans arrived.4 He also calls French presidents "prime ministers," a title unused there. In his Biographical Notes there are at least nine errors. Churchill was Prime Minister until 1955, not 1953. In what is meant to be a comprehensive list of terms of office Poincare and Stimson only have their later terms listed. The lifespans are particularly way out. Atlee, Duff Cooper, MacMillian, and Horace Wilson are given wrong dates, while Dadalier is literally put in the wrong century (not such a bad idea) and dies fourteen years before his birth."Karl Habsburg" not only has his name mispelled but is listed as "Emperor of Austria 1917". He was Emperor of the Austro-Hungarian empire between 1916 and 1918. Perhaps in atonement for this les majeste Lamb gives him seventy extra years of life, the last three of these being later than the book's publication date.

More serious errors occur with omissions and interpretations of the fascist dictators, especially Mussolini and Dolfuss.

After eloquently argueing against appeasement towards Hitler because he was a murderous, tyrannical, racialistic, atavistic, imperialist bully; Lamb argues that the allies should have aided Dolfuss and Mussolini through diplomacy, economic aid, military aliances and recognition of Italy's 1935 Ethopian invasion.5 Lamb does give a brief and favorable description of Mussolini's Italy in the 1920's, quoting Churchill and Austen Chamberlain about their tours.6 Repression there is mentioned: Lamb refers to socialist protests about the murder of Matteotti and the imprisonment of Nenni; but does not refer to any other cases or to totalitarian rule in Italy. In reality, socialist hostility started before Mussolini seized power- and with good reason. Mussolini's blackshirts murdered about three thousand people before seizing power in October 1922. Nobody can calculate the later, massive numbers forced into exile, imprisoned, secretly murdered, or killed in Mussolini's Italy, or in his African empire building: yet this is no reason not to refer to them.

Whatever Lamb's merits in terms of assiduous research and originality, his viewpoint makes much of his book very, very dubious.

Manchester,s second volume in his life of Churchill, **The Last Lion** is titled **ALONE 1932-1940.** This gives some idea of how popular appeasement and (at least initially) Hitler were with Britain's ruling class during

this period. There were several ruling class individuals consistently opposing Hitler, but few of them could work with Churchill for very long and Manchester shows why.

I was expecting a glorification and found a full portrait, which fully documents Churchill's alienating faults and its effects on the early anti-Nazi movement. Churchill was abusive, erratic and intolerant; dividing the incipent movement over issues which were of little importance, such as King Edward's marriage. He was also well into the 1930,s, unwilling to alienate Franco or Mussolini by open critism. This divided the anti-Nazis. His personal style was extremely cantankerous and sometimes childishly petulant and this frequently toppled over into callous bullying. He habitually manipulated his co-workers into exhausting and dangerous work, then cast them aside when no longer of use. Churchill is also shown as being pompous and foolish; an instant expert, insisting for example,that submarines were obsolescent and mescherschmitts were of little use.

Yet Manchester also shows his energy, resourcefulness, complete dedication, far-sightedness, and courage. Whatever his faults, Churchill was the earliest and loudest well known voice in the world to warn against Hitler. With a few others, such as Lord Boothby, Leo Amery, Harold MacMillan, Basil Liddel-Hart, Duncan Sandys, Brendan Bracken, Harold Nicholson, Duff and Diana Cooper, and Neville Chamberlain's brother Austen, Churchill paid the cost of standing by his principles. They not only opposed their own ruling class, but also popular opinion, the vast majority of experts and most of the media. Rarely in the course of human conflict have so many been so wrong and been so ungrateful to so few. They suffered ostracism, slander, ridicule, curtailed careers and incomes and frequently came close to penury.

Whatever Lamb and Manchester intended and however their books are interpreted by the elites of Bush's new world order; they have revealed a devastating critique of state power. A few hundred European politicans, diplomats, generals, industrialists and advisors, were able to plunge billions of others into the nightmare of World War -again.

Garry Hill

Notes

1 A.B.C. News, 7p.m. edition, 2nd January, 1992.
2. W. Manchester, The Last Lion. Alone 1932-1940, pp. 397-398, 515-517, 519, 526-527
3. A.B.C., 7pm edition, 7th (?) August, 1990.
4. R. Lamb, The Drift To War 1922-1939, p. 198.
5. Ibid, p viii ix and chapters 2, 5 (Mussolini saves Austria) 9 and 10 in particular
6 Ibid p.94

Anarchy: a journal of desire armed. Winter, 1992 (31) CAL, POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446 USA.

This Journal is always well worth reading and this issue, concentrating on Women, Gender and Anarchy, is a delight. Perhaps not surprisingly the 5 articles dealing with Feminism and Anarchism accept as a given that women are oppressed by men. They differ on whether this gender oppression can/should be fought separately from, or rather in addition to, the wider battle against all forms of oppression. Susan Brown in "Anarchism and Human Freedom" argues that feminism's weakness is " ... the lack of an intrinsic critique of power and domination per se." (p.16) and, thus, that " ... femi nism ultimately fails by limiting itself to an incomplete struggle for liberation." (p.17) Laure Akai in "The Women's Movement and the reaction against it" writes that "Feminism is a national liberation movement." (p.18) and proceeds to outline the limitations of such movements. This theme, interestingly, is echoed in an article by Adrian Kollontai on men's liberation. He states that "It's no use hiding behind the flag of one's gender; flags only serve to falsly unite under a common pretext." (p.33)

My favourite article is Iris Mill's "Feminism: Disarmed? Indulgent? Introverted?" (Her conclusion: never armed; "yes" to indulgent; "yes" to introverted.) She argues that feminism's weakness is that it ignores class oppression. "The desire to be equal to men seems ridiculous to me, for who would want to be the equal of slaves?" (p.19) On the topic of a women's bank she observes: "The logic behind this seems to be that self-managed oppression and exploitation is better." (p.19)

The two other articles, however, argue that gender oppression needs to be singled out from other forms of oppression. Liz Highleyman in "Anarchism and Gender: sexual orientation politics" argues that feminist concerns have historically got lost or obscured within revolutionary politics and that anarcha feminism is necessary to ensure that radical movements don't " ... revert to old sexist ways." (p.21) Amy Meselson in a lengthy article on "Mujeres Libres and the Spanish Revolution" argues that their strength lay in neither assuming " ... that all women are necessarily and fundamentally in solidarity with each other ..." (p.28) nor in failing to see that "The strategy of empowering women only by incorporating them into the movement was not realistic due to the complex and numerous social influences that tell women that they are inferior to men." (p.27)

The last word to Iris Mill "If some men are domineering toward women they should be confronted by the fact . Anyway some women feel dominated by other women what do they do then? Form a sub-group of submissive women only?" (p.19)

Eugenia Lovelace

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